1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kepenkut*	Kipkokus Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi*	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipiekun*	Kipiekun	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui*	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil*	Kipsirkui	Nandi clan	bush pig
Tuiyui*	Tuiyui	Nandi clan	rain
Kuruput*	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Tuini*	Tuini	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kiponga,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaika, totem partridge; Kipaiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipaiso, totem the sun; and [illegible]

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is ascertained by the council leader, *kiruchindet*, who is not necessarily the eldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kotwet* (p. 32).

The Kowet

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*kowemek*, sing. *kowet*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *kowet* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruchindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *kowemek*, named (from north to south), Ceparur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorum, Sowiyo, Metetiet, Mokogin, Puret, and Segalo. In 1938 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorum, and Sowiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Metetiet).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

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cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *koret* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*tauk*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):—

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokosera	Kokosoga	40
Uhugum	Naumugum	60
Luterem	Loturim	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokosoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Uhugum and the Luterem are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Labwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl.

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Labwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Labwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown.

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Labwor practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

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278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can